The Case of Frank Santana

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'Right to Scab' Law Adopted In Industrial State of Indiana

Senate Passes Eisenhower's Mideast Plan

By George Lavan

MARCH 6 — By 72 to 19 the Senate last night voted Eisenhower a blank check for war in the Middle East. Since the House of Representatives had earlier passed a similar resolution, all that remains is the formality of making the wording of the two versions identical and the Eisenhower Doctrine becomes law.

Truman plunged the U.S. into the Korean War without even consulting Congress which, according to the Constitution, alone has the power to declare war. The Eisenhower Doctrine gives Congress war-making power in advance to the president for use in the Mideast whenever he chooses and for as long as he wishes.

That the American people oppose this blank check for war was indicated by the unprecedentedly heavy mail opposing the bill received by members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It ran "eight or nine to one" against the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Yet the Big Business Congress is so pro-war that an amendment introduced by Senator Morse (D-Ore.), requiring the president to get Congressional consent before ordering troops into combat, was overwhelmingly rejected.

The danger of Soviet aggression is the official justification for the surrender of Congress' war-making power to Eisenhower. But this is merely eyewash to get the bill passed—on the theory that the American press and public can be duped with anything if it is labelled anti-Communist. As Rowland Evans, Washington correspondent of the conservative N.Y. Herald-Tribune (Feb. 17) wrote:

"A blanket of military protection is about to descend over many nations in the Middle East against a danger of Communist aggression that, in the words of Admiral Arthur W. Radford [Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff], is neither imminent nor, at the present time, foreseeable. . . The paradox of a blanket military guaranty against a danger that doesn't quite exist, against a threat that shows no immediate signs of materializing. . ."

Against whom then would U.S. troops be used? U.S. imperialism will use them against the same people the French and British did—the Arab people who are trying to throw off imperialism. These are the "aggressors" the Eisenhower Doctrine aims at. **The danger is that their "aggression" may take the form of nationalizing their own oil resources and other natural wealth. For some months, the Administration and the Big Business press has been engaged in a campaign to picture Egypt and Syria as "Communist-dominated or infiltrated."**

The 19 Senators voting against the Eisenhower Doctrine were mostly Southern Democrats who objected not to the expenditure of the lives of GIs but to expenditure of $200 million also authorized by the bill. Voting with them were three isolationists and three liberal Democrats.

SENATOR HUMPHREY (D-Minn.) was one of the liberals who voted for Eisenhower's plan.

Tallahassee Students Get Prison Term

By Henry Gitano

Tallahassee's white-supremacist "justice" on March 4, sentenced three university students —two Negroes and one white— to 60 days in jail and $500 fines for violating the city's new bus-seat assignment ordinance under which drivers tell passengers where to sit. Attempting through intimidation to smash the solidarity of Negro and white students, the court meted out the maximum penalty. Tallahasses's all white Florida State University newspaper urged students in a recent editorial to attend mass meetings of the Inter Civic Council (organized to direct the bus boycott) and to help in the struggle for equal rights.

In Miami, Fla., Ashton Jones a 61-year old white man who expressed his opposition to white supremacists, was jailed after being carried bodily by cops from a White Citizens Council meeting. The Amsterdam News (March 2) revealed that a flaming cross was burned at the Camp Lejeune, N.C., U.S. Marine Base on Feb. 16 and was followed by a riot.

Gus Courts who was shot in Belzoni, Miss., after having led a campaign to register Negro voters described the Dixie reign of terror before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee: "We had to flee in the night. We are the American refugees from the terror of the South, all because we wanted to vote." Courts who now lives in Chicago, noted that only 8,000 Negroes are now on Mississippi registration rolls, "although there are 497,000 potential colored voters" in the state. Mr. Courts stated that they were "killing the colored people who want to vote and be citizens."

Rev. W. D. Ridgeway of Hattiesburg, Miss., told the committee that only 25 Hattiesburg Negroes out of a population of 12,958 "have been permitted to vote." Mrs. Beatrice Young from Jackson, Miss., told of Southern Gestapo methods. She testified how deputy sheriff A. L. Hopkins showed up at her home while she was pregnant, hit her with a blackjack, took her to jail and beat her again.

In New Orleans, Negroes are boycotting Mardi Gras festivities as a protest against segregation, and will utilize the funds to further integration on Louisiana's buses and in its schools. "We want to destroy the myth that we are satisfied," said Raymond Floyd, a New Orleans Negro leader.

Captured Algerian Freedom Fighters

Pictured above are six Algerian fighters for independence from French imperialism after their arrest along with 14 others on Feb. 22. The raid came after weeks of systematic terrorization of the city of Algiers by French police. (See editorial on French Premier Mollet's visit to U.S., page 3.)

New Trial for Morton Sobell Argued Before Appeals Court

By Myra Tanner Weiss

MARCH 5 — The U.S. Court of Appeals in New York City today heard the arguments of Morton Sobell's lawyers for a new hearing. The court has not yet reached a decision on the motions. Sobell is now serving a 30-year prison term in Alcatraz for conviction in the "espionage" trial of 1951 that resulted in the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

The argument for Sobell was made by his attorneys, Donner and Perlin, with the assistance of Dr. Luis Sanchez Ponton, former Minister of Education in Mexico and a noted authority on international law. Dr. Sanchez Ponton informed the court of the nature of Mexican law in relation to deportation, and told of his own investigation of evidence.

GOV'T ON TRIAL

Marshall Perlin, one of Sobell's lawyers, charged that the prosecution in Sobell's original trial in 1951 "knowingly" and "wilfully" used "perjured testimony," against the defendant Sobell, suppressed evidence and made "misrepresentations" to the trial court. Thus, although it was Morton Sobell whose freedom was at stake in the appeal, the integrity of the government's conduct of its case was actually at issue in today's proceedings.

This was evident when one of the three appeals judges, Harold R. Medina, pointed out the seriousness of the charges against the government. In addition, U.S. Attorney, Paul Williams, for the government, agreed that if there were perjury in the prosecution's case, the decision of the lower court should be reversed.

Yet nowhere in Williams' answering argument, did he deny any of the facts presented in the Sobell brief that prove an abduction of Morton Sobell and his family took place in Mexico. Williams denied the perjury charge on the specious argument that the government never claimed Sobell was "deported pursuant to the extradition treaty." The government only maintained that Sobell was "deported from Mexico."

"They [Sobell's lawyers] always equate deportation and extradition," complained Williams. And he gave the literal translation from the Latin of the word "deport," i.e., to "carry from, or off." The U.S. Attorney should have gone on to complete the dictionary definition. This would include: "b. In modern law, the removal from a country, of an alien considered inimical to the public welfare or not lawfully there." This would imply some legal consideration by the deporting government.

The prosecution could have proved itself innocent of the "serious charges" made by Sobell simply by obtaining evidence of legal action on the part of Mexico. Williams asserted to the Court that "this was a legal deportation." However, no such evidence was introduced. On the entire record of the case the sole claim to "deportation" is based on U.S. government records, made by an official at Laredo, Texas. But the U.S. government was not the "deporting" authority. **If the action were legal as Williams maintained, there must be evidence of that legal action in the hands of the Mexican government. Why couldn't the U.S. Attorney obtain such evidence? It is necessary to conclude that none exists.**

And if the prosecution under the direction of Irving Saypol in 1950 kidnaped Sobell, made it appear that he was forced to return to the United States and lied about it in court, isn't it also conceivable that the sole witness against Sobell, Max Elitcher, who was shivering in fear of being prosecuted himself on an earlier, admitted perjury, also lied? If the representatives of a

(Continued on page 4)

MORTON SOBELL

Governor Refuses to Veto Bill as 10,000 Unionists Demonstrate at Capitol

By Harry Ring

Ten thousand rank-and-file Indiana unionists massed inside the state capitol in Indianapolis March 2 in an unsuccessful, last-minute effort to block passage of a state "right-to-work" law. With the announcement by Gov. Harold Hadley of his flat refusal to veto the union-busting statute, Indiana became the first major industrial state to outlaw the union shop. Passage of the measure came in the union-baiting atmosphere currently sparked by the Congressional probe ostensibly aimed at labor "racketeering."

The mass demonstration was called by the leadership of the AFL after the state Senate had adopted the measure by a vote of 27 to 23. The House passed the bill last week by a vote of 54 to 22. Leaders of the CIO did not join in the call for the mass demonstration which aimed at forcing a veto of the bill by the governor. However it is reported that many CIO unionists joined the demonstration.

18th STATE

Jamming the corridors of the capitol, the demonstrators chanted slogans and carried banners and placards. Among the signs were: "Hoosiers want union life lines, not state bread lines;" "Thanks for legalized slavery;" and "I am against the Right to Work for Nothing Bill."

Indiana is now the 18th state to ban the closed shop. The other states include Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota in the North plus 13 Southern states. Passage of the Indiana bill is the worst setback for labor thus far in the fight to preserve the union shop. **Indiana is the nation's third largest producer of steel, autos and auto parts. There are an estimated 600,000 union members in the state.**

The defeat assumes even graver significance in that it springs from a stepped-up nationwide campaign for the extension of the reactionary "right-to-scab" laws. Strong pressure is now being built up to ram a similar measure through the Delaware legislature. Union officials have expressed concern about the possibility of the spread of similar anti-labor legislation to Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maryland.

In voting for the Indiana law, members of the legislature said that they were motivated by the recent incident in a Princeton, Ind. Machinists strike where an infant was wounded by gunfire allegedly aimed at her father who was scabbing in the strike. The real setting for their action was pegged by A. H. Raskin, labor editor of the New York Times, in a March 4 article which describes the Indiana action as part of a nation-wide campaign "to outlaw the union shop by state action." Passage of the Indiana bill, Raskin says, "is spurring farm and employer groups to more intensive action."

CONGRESSIONAL PROBE

"Their hopes of fresh breakthroughs, he continues, "are built partly on their first success in an industrial state and partly on the belief that the Senate investigation into labor racketeering will build up receptivity to curbs on union power."

The accuracy of Raskin's estimate of the real meaning of the Congressional labor "probers" was underscored by the March 3 declarations of two of the committee

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The "Soundproof" Indiana Legislature

An Editorial

Both houses of the Indiana legislature were in session when 10,000 unionists massed in the corridors of the capitol building chanting their opposition to the union-wrecking bill which had just been passed. But, the press reports, "the lawmakers were not disturbed by the din. The chambers of both bodies are soundproof."

That "sound barrier" could have been broken. The voice of Indiana labor would have been heard in those chambers if it had its own elected representatives **inside** and was not compelled to try to make its voice heard only from the outside. The need for such labor representation exists today in every state legislature to combat the continuing spread of anti-labor legislation. And most pressing of all, is the need for such representation in Congress. Federal legislation is urgently required to block the growing "state's rights" movement to cripple the unions.

But so long as labor is without its own voice in Congress there is little prospect for such legislation. As the March 4 New York Times reports: "Union officials make no secret of their belief that the Congressional climate is not conducive to any move for federal legislation to shut the door to state rule over union security."

This openly anti-labor climate has existed since the passage of Taft-Hartley in 1947. It is an outgrowth of the failure of the 1946 drive of Big Businses to break the unions on the picketlines. That attack was repelled by the magnificent solidarity of the striking workers in basic industry who made clear that American unionism could not be broken on the picketline. But with the turn to accomplish this aim politically labor was unprepared for the attack, and the consequent progress of the legislative anti-union drive has been substantial.

The strategy of labor's officialdom to counter the attack by electing Big Business politicians in the Democratic Party has failed. If labor is to preserve the hard-won gains of the picketline it must forge the necessary political weapon — an independent labor party.

Philadelphia, L. A., N. Y. Symposiums Announced

Continuing interest in discussion of the prospects for socialist regroupment is expressed in the growing number of symposiums throughout the country which are providing a platform for the exchange of viewpoints of the differing radical tendencies. This month at least four such symposiums will be held in New York, Los Angeles and Philadelphia.

In New York, the Brooklyn Compass Club is sponsoring a discussion on "Socialism and Civil Liberties," to be held Sunday evening, March 10, 8 P.M. at Sunrise Manor, 1638 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn. **Participants are Simon Gerson, Chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Communist Party and former City Editor of the Daily Worker; Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; and Tyrell Wilson, Sr., a veteran socialist, long active in the battle for civil liberties and civil rights.**

Two symposioums are being held in Los Angeles:

A March 29 discussion on the question "Is There a Future for American Socialism?" will hear Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential Candidate of the Progressive Party; Dorothy Healy, Los Angeles County Chairman of the Communist Party; William F. Warde, Los Angeles Chairman, Socialist Workers Party; Bert Cochran, editor of the American Socialist; and Carl Marzanni, writer and lecturer. The meeting will begin at 8 P.M. at the Embassy Auditorium, 847 So. Grand.

On March 13 in Los Angeles, there will be an exchange of views on the issue "What is the Meaning of Socialist Regroupment?" The speakers include Arne Swabeck, a leading spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party; Max Schachtman, National Chairman of the Independent Socialist League and Harry Siitonen of the Los Angeles Socialist Party. Sponsored by the SWP, ISL and SP, the meeting will be held at Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th Street at 7:45 P.M.

In Philadelphia, on March 15 at 8 P.M., the platform will be shared by J. A. Davidson of the Independent Socialist League; Joseph Roberts, Chairman of the Eastern Pennsylvania District of the Communist Party; Tom Kerry of the Socialist Workers Party; and the revolutionary pacifist, Charles Walker. **The discussion on "What's Ahead for the American Left" will be held at the New Century club, 124 So. 12th Street.**

Defies Probers

Communist Party leader Eugene Dennis at a Feb. 25 hearing of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee which tried to compel him to give information about the recent CP convention. Dennis refused to answer and attacked the invasion of his party's civil liberties.

Government 'Regulation' Aids Oil Corporations in Huge Price Steal

By Vincent Copeland

Prices of gasoline, fuel oil and other oil products have recently risen again, while both profits and supplies are at an all-time high. This apparent defiance of the economic law of gravity is only possible because of the tremendous influence of oil monopolies on the United States government.

The Suez crisis is only the excuse for raising prices, not the reason. The public has been led to believe that there is an oil shortage, when in reality there is an immediate surplus. The government is well aware of this. But in spite of revelations by Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), Chairman of the Senate anti-Trust and Monopolies subcommittee, the government so far refuses to act.

$100 MILLION GRAVY

N. J. Rathbone, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, is so confident of the government's cooperation in this matter that he coolly predicted last month to a Congressional Committee that his company would make a neat extra $100 million this year as a result of the "Suez-crisis" price increases (Feb. 21 New York Times.)

J. H. Carmical, a financial writer for the New York Times points out, Feb. 24, that—"Price-fixing in the oil industry is made possible largely through the machinery set up by the states and the Federal Government to control crude oil production, rather than through collusion [among the giant oil corporations]."

This situation caused Harvey O'Connor, an expert on the oil industry, recently to say, "Often the [Congressional] investigators look for conspiracies in which the major [oil companies] sit down together and arrive at a fixed price formalized in a document which could be used in a court proceeding to end the monopoly. What they actually find is too ectoplasmic to display before the judges." (Empire of Oil, p. 127.)

The truth is that the laws controlling production of crude oil, —that is, how much oil is taken from the ground—were passed at the behest of the big oil companies during the depression when there was "too much" oil. These laws masquerade as conservation laws. But they are in reality price-fixing laws.

Carmical mildly denies this, saying that "there are clauses to the effect that production of oil and gas must not be limited for the purpose of stabilizing or fixing prices." But he continues somewhat innocently, "However, the question arises as to how the production can be limited without influencing prices."

If the oil industry were nationalized under the control of the oil workers union, there would be no question that both production and prices would be set so as to benefit the majority of the American people.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Editor:

Last Thursday evening my wife and I attended a legislative conference sponsored by the Daily People's World. The meeting opened with a report by the Northwest Editor of the P.W., Terry Pettus, who gave a very comprehensive report on the legislation now pending in the State Legislature, and gave a concise picture of the needs of the Washington State educational system.

Pettus outliner in detail the school-budget requirements for the next biennium and showed where the money was raised, through taxation and other sources, plus the fact that from all these usual sources, the school system would be short by the sum of $246,500,000 of meeting its budget requirements. This would not include finances for the construction of new school buildings and other auxiliary requirements.

FEDERAL AID

This deficit would either have to be raised through an appropriation from the State general fund or by additional taxation or by the passage of a Federal Aid to Education bill by Congress.

Our State Legislature is currently tussling with a bill. House Joint Memorial 17, which would urge Congress to pass a Federal Aid to Education bill. So far so good, but the lawmakers want it so badly that they would pass it (HJM 17) without the Powell Amendment requiring that the Federal Government withhold Federal school aid from those states not in compliance with the Supreme Court decisions on segregation.

When this was debated from the floor at the above meeting, some were of the opinion that it was a good tactical maneuver to submit it to Congress without the Powell Amendment since this would not arouse the opposition of the Southern segregationists in Congress. That position is to my mind one of rank opportunism. If we uphold the action of the legislatures in the Northern states to memorialize Congress to pass a Federal Aid bill without the Powell amendment or its equivalent, we are in effect guilty of aiding and comforting the Southern Bourbons. We are deserting the struggle of the Negro people in their heroic fight for equality.

The excuse that this is a good tactical maneuver is but a fig leaf to cover our opportunism. Good tactics necessarily flow from good principles. To give aid and comfort to racism in any manner whatsoever is a very bad principle, one incompatible with the theory of scientific socialism.

POLITICAL STRIKE ACTION

To my way of thinking the Negro people of the South have engaged in a political strike action. The demands they have raised are the very fundamentals of human decency, of democracy and affect the well-being not only of themselves but the well-being of the entire working class. In the militant struggles they have engaged around the issues of school and bus integration and in their demands for the ballot, they have posed the number one political issue of the day.

Any tendency on the part of Northern "liberals" and "progressives" to evade or compromise these issues is but an act of political STRIKE BREAKING. To my mind the Southern Negro has established a picket line that is clear and well-defined, and any person or group that chooses to ignore it, or cross it, is in the final analysis but a strike breaker. Those who would speak of "tactics" must stop and consider that during a strike all tactics must serve the interests of the strike and in no wise weaken it.

It is the inescapable duty of all who term themselves "union men," "progressives," or "Marxist-Leninists" to give full support to the struggles of the Negro people, to maintain the picket line.

J. B.
Seattle

CPer Disputes View of Convention

Editor, the Militant:

I have been following with undiminished attention the series of weekly articles by your staff writer, Harry Ring, devoted to the crisis in the Communist Party of the United States alongside of his analysis of the recently concluded CP convention.

At the outset, let me say, I am now and have been a member of the Communist Party. I appreciate the fraternal interest displayed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant in the recent developments in our party. I view the SWP as an indispensable segment of the Socialist Left in America and I look toward the day of unqualified collaboration between our parties leading toward eventual unification in a real vanguard party of revolutionary American socialism.

DISPUTES POSITION

It is with the above perspective in mind, that I must—albeit with profound regret—dispute the spirit and direction expressed in the Ring articles in the Feb. 18 and 25 issues of the Militant. In absence of any visible editorial evidence to the contrary, I can only conclude that the approach reflects the line of the Militant and the SWP.

The main contention of the Ring evaluation is that: "The most significant feature of the recently concluded convention of the CP is the fact that the delegates, by a majority of two to one, blocked the efforts of Party Chairman William Z. Foster to force the organization back into its pre-20th Congress bureaucratic straitjacket."

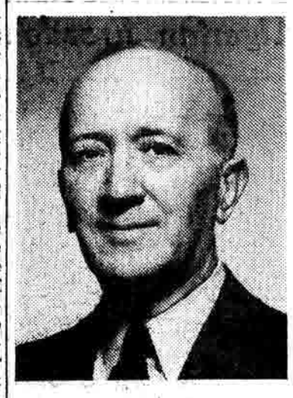
This conclusion of Ring's is pursued relentlessly in the two articles (Feb. 18, 25 Militant). I am obliged to state that his evaluation is without foundation in fact, unsupported by the developments which took place in my party prior to, and at the convention sessions.

I will now attempt to counterpose to Ring's position my own opinion, which is shared by many Party militants. Let me reaffirm my party association since 1935, when I was a standard bearer in the Assembly elections (1935) while a member of of the YCL. Later, active in the unemployed, union and youth movements. I was a delegate to our section convention, served on the section resolutions committee and remained a faithful observer of all developments, conflicts and participants in the preliminary county and New York state conventions. Finally, I have interviewed members who attended or whose close associates attended the national convention. This biographical summary is an effort to "qualify" as a participant as distinct from the limiting factors of an editorial office.

NO FOSTER FACTION

Now, to the bloody business:

(1) There was no Foster faction. While it is true at the 12th hour some effort was made in the anti-Gates ranks to give an organized direction to the fight it lacked the conscious organization, planning, program of the



FOSTER

Gates faction which had developed over a period of months. At the county, state and national conventions, a Gates faction was in evidence—no semblance of a Foster faction.

(2) The delegates from industry, concerned with the retention of shop clubs and a critical attitude to the trade union bureaucracy contributed as well, to the ranks of the anti-Gates forces. One of the most devoted UE militants, who was contemptuously referred to as "that friend of the workers" by the Gates forces in our county, fought a bitter, uncompromising fight against the Foster-Weinstone capitulation at the convention.

Our own Section Organizer, the sole delegate from our region, was very reserved in his relief at the patch-work unity affected at the convention, and harbors mingled feelings of regret and chagrin at the failure of the Foster leadership to offer resistance to the Dennis-Gates program.

(3) Ring gloats that the convention frustrated Foster's attempt to impose on the National Commitee a 21st member-at-large who had lost to Charney by ¼ of a single vote. Mind you, Charney is a state leader of the Party, a compromiser. Who then is this number 21? We must know it is a beloved militant Puerto Rican leader from the ranks of lower Harlem, A. R., respected by the Party members in New York. He will yet be placed on the National Committee by the rank and file he serves.

FOSTER ABDICATES RESPONSIBILITY

(4) The basic healthy core of the working class elements fought a determined rear-guard action to save the Party throughout the preliminary stages. Their final effort which was capable of winning, was frustrated when the Foster group in the national leadership abdicated their responsibility to organize and lead a counter-struggle to the mighty wave of revisionism and liquidation spearheaded by the Daily Worker staff and the New York State party and its allies in the National Committee.

(5) The Dennis diplomacy succeeded because the anti-Gates forces failed to provide the membership with a real program for revolutionary American socialism counterposed to the basic social-democratic conceptions of the draft and its supporters (Gates, Dennis, Foster). Lacking essentially was the leadership to organize and direct that section of the membership which had withstood the pressure of public opinion and American imperialism.

(6) The course charted by Ring, and supported in silence by the SWP leadership, can forfeit the greatest potentialities for healing the breach between the CP and the SWP.

The anti-Gates forces are not committed to any section of the leadership. Frankly, they look to a refreshment of the national and state leadership.

(7) True, many militants who support Foster believe he is a Leninist, an internationalist, a working-class revolutionist. They do not yet realize he and Gates are only the left and right leg of the same body nourished by the social-democratic policy expressed in the draft resolution adopted by the national convention. The education of the militants as to the role of the Soviet bureaucracy, its origins and historical foundation, has still to be completed. Their ideological rearmament is the key to the whole solution.

Notwithstanding this—the potential reservoir for transforming the CP into a revolutionary party of American socialism merging into a broad regroupment of the left on a principled program of Marxism-Leninism that will include the SWP and others, resides in the anti-Gates forces who question the basic conception of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful transition," the amorphous "anti-monopoly coalition," the kowtowing to the trade-union bureaucrats, ADA, etc.

NO CONFIDENCE IN EITHER SIDE

It is to this section of the Party and its leadership at all levels that assistance must be offered, guidance proffered, to hasten the day for the realization of a firm solution to the basic problem of creating a revolutionary working class vanguard in America.

The anti-Gates elements throughout the country did not subscribe to any section of the leadership, although some hoped that Foster might wage open war against Gates in a showdown battle on the Party, Marxism-Leninism, Democratic Centralism, etc.

The disappointment of the anti-Gates forces in Foster and Dennis was the most characteristic expression of sentiment as the convention closed. "Why didn't he (Foster) fight?"

(8) The anti-Gates forces reflected the best working class elements in the Party and encompassed most of the Negro delegations and leadership.

STAND OF NEGRO MILITANTS

The young Negro woman delegate from California who received the highest vote at the convention for the National Committee did not receive the support of her own delegation because of her forthright anti-Gates stand.

GATES

Charles Loman, Kings County Negro of the Party, elected to the National Committee, in spite of the determination of the New York State Committee and the Shrank-Gates partisans to unseat him in his own backyard.

The militant Negro delegations from Bedford-Stuyvesant and Lower Harlem waged a noble fight to condemn Party policy with respect to the Negro freedom struggle as "right opportunist."

In the coming state and regional conventions these elements will be the instrument for placing fresh industrial and Negro forces in the leadership.

It is these forces who want proletarian norms of democracy in the Party, a feeling shared by the bulk of tre Party membership of all tendencies. We will brook no curbs and resist bureaucratism at all levels, including the flagrant "bureaucratic" tendencies displayed in our own New York Party by the "democratic socialism" of Shrank, etc., who feel the convention has given them the O.K. to proceed along their "New York State" path to socialism, with the liquidation of the Jefferson School and Labor Youth League in the spirit of the bureaucratic liquidation of the American Labor Party and their contemptuous disregard for the moods of our Bedford-Stuyvesant comrades.

"LEFT SECTARIANISM"

Oh yes, the Gates forces view a return to militancy as a manifestation of left sectarianism. To anticipate that members under their influence, who conceive of Dubinsky and Reuther rather than the SWP as their future associates in a mass party of Socialism, as the healthy base and avenue for realignment and regroupment is to disorient the SWP and CP militants in the developments that lie ahead.

PARTY DISCUSSION IS TASK OF DAY

Conclusion: The most significant fact that derives from the proceedings at the National Convention is the failure of the militants to forge and advance a program that could have swept the Gates forces into the dust bin of Party history and shaken the perennial custodians of Party policy from the top—a program that would have elevated to the leadership new fresh forces to help chart a new course along the lines determined by the international experience of the working class embodied in the teachings of Marx and Engels and enriched in our epoch by Lenin.

The most significant fact of the immediate future must be the revival of the turbulent discussion in our ranks on the deficiencies and inadequacies of Party Program and leadership and the effort on a local and national scale to bring about the earliest correction of our defeatist and revisionist line.

In this period the SWP and the Militant can make an historic contribution if you do not lose sight of the main forces for progress in our Party and strive to effect the necessary reapproachment along the difficult thorny road of working-class politics.

Argus

(Readers of the Militant are invited to comment on Argus' letter, Harry Ring's articles, or any other aspect of the evaluation of the CP convention—Ed.)

Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth

By Joyce Cowley
Socialist Workers Party Candidate
For Mayor of New York

Frank Santana, now 19 years old, is serving a sentence of 25 years to life for the "model-boy" murder which made sensational headlines in the spring of 1955. He is the victim of hysteria whipped up by newspaper, TV and radio reports which denounced him as a "young hoodlum from Puerto Rico," and a "swaggering teen-age gangster." They roused a lynch spirit against him, and he was convicted long before his case reached court. Now, as more people become aware of the true facts about the shooting, there is a growing demand for commutation of this flagrantly unjust sentence.

JOYCE COWLEY

When William Blankenship was killed, there seemed to be no possible doubt as to the facts. Every newspaper reporter, every commentator, even ministers in their Sunday sermons, told exactly the same story. A 15-year-old boy on his way home from the movies was mistakenly identified by members of the Navahos as belonging to a rival gang. Frank Santana, leader of the Navahos, pulled out a gun and shot him.

Circle of Guilt

Dr. Fredric Wertham, the well-kown psychiatrist, was called in by Santana's lawyers to examine the boy. He tells in **Circle of Guilt** (a study of the case published last fall) how he learned about the Blankenship murder from newspaper accounts, and he quotes extensively from them. They all agreed it was the "cold-blooded shooting of a high school boy by a teen-age gangster," and they particularly emphasized the "senseless" character of the crime, referring to it as the "senseless killing of the model boy," the "senseless gangland execution."

Frank Santana was described as a "hoodlum," even by the New York Times, and variations in less restrained newspapers were "dirty, filthy hoodlum," "punk," and "street mobster." His mother became "the hoodlum's mother." He was a "gang chief," credited with organizing the Navahos. He called himself Tarzan and newspapers referred to him as Frank (Tarzan) Santana or just "Tarzan," without any other name. He was a "dull student," "below normal intelligence," with an I.Q. of only 65 (anything below 70 is considered mentally deficient).

Santana's victim, William Blankenship, was extravagantly praised as "handsome," "blond," "known as a model boy in his neighborhood," "a quiet, studious high school student," "the boy who had never run with gangs."

Bronx District Attorney Sullivan joined the chorus by characterizing the crime as "a senseless killing in a quiet neighborhood invaded by hoodlums who did not belong there."

Everyone agreed about what had happened, and they all knew exactly what to do — make an example of Santana by sending him to the chair. It was even suggested that the execution should be shown on TV to teach other young "gangsters" a lesson.

"Junior Electric Chairs"

The newspapers and public officials did not restrict their suggestions to Santana. They knew what to do about all juvenile delinquents. The first step was to stop "coddling" them, and start using nightsticks. Bronx District Attorney Sullivan also proposed organizations of a semi-military character in the high schools. Queens District Attorney said that nightsticks were not enough, since "you've got to catch these young punks at an earlier stage before they become full-blown killers." His remedy was the woodshed. "There are two policemen in every home — mama and papa. Let them use the stick."

The New York Daily News, which had been advocating nightsticks for quite some time, concluded in a lead editorial that measures of this type were inadequate. "Most of us are familiar with the lamentations uttered by bleeding hearts and sob sisters whenever an unusually stinking juvenile crime is committed. Always we are told that family life has hit the skids since the war, that society fails to provide healthy substitutes for the big-shot-I-belong feeling that some youngsters get out of running with weirdly named street gangs, that poor, pathetic little fellows like Santana never had a chance." The News had a program, too: "More and bigger reform schools and maybe Junior Sing-Sings complete with Junior electric chairs."

The Police Department, suddenly alert to the problem, launched a "concentrated, round-the-clock fight against juvenile delinquency" by sending 89 extra policemen to one area in the Bronx. The feeling against Puerto Ricans ran high. Santana's family was threatened, and his younger brother was afraid to go to school. Dozens of Puerto Rican youths were picked up by the police on flimsy charges ("unlawful assembly" is always convenient). They were questioned, threatened and thoroughly intimidated before they were released.

It was almost two months before the case came to court and up to the last minute, the press continued its clamor for the electric chair.

Not Obligated to Tell Truth

Then there was a sudden and startling reversal. The District Attorney asked for a reduction in the charge from first to second-degree murder. William Blankenship, he admitted, was not a model boy. He did belong to a rival gang. He was "spoiling for a fight" and was the aggressor in the dispute with Santana. The most astonishing thing about this was the silence of the District Attorney's office from May 2, when it first learned about Blankenship's gang affiliations until the time of the trial toward the end of June. While Santana's family lived in fear and Puerto Ricans in his area were attacked by both their neighbors and the police, the District Attorney made no effort to correct the false reports which had created much of the anti-Puerto Rican hysteria. He let his assistant, Andrew McCarthy, do the explaining:

"We were under no obligation to set the newspapers straight. In the long run the truth would have prevailed. This morning was the first opportunity I had to do anything about it."

A reporter from the New York Post asked: "Wouldn't continued misleading reports on the case help build up pressure for a first degree murder conviction?"

"I know that," McCarthy replied. "I realized I would be a most unpopular man today. But I am the father of seven children. I couldn't sleep at night. . ."

He still insisted he felt no obligation to correct the newspaper stories: "How can you interfere with the press? I would be accused of tampering."

He also apparently felt no need to enlighten Dr. Wertham, who was conducting a psychiatric examination of Santana. In fact, Dr. Wertham had difficulty in obtaining an interview alone with the boy, since the District Attorney insisted he should see him together with a psychiatrist chosen by the District Attorney's office. It was necessary for Wertham to go to court and get a signed order from the judge permitting him to "examine the defendant in the absence of any other person." Dr. Wertham gradually learned, as he talked with Frank Santana, that not only the details of the shooting but a great many other facts were strangely distorted by the press.

(To be continued next week)

...'Right-to-Scab' Law

(Continued from page 1)

members, Senators Mundt and Goldwater, who demanded new legislation to curb the "labor monopoly." Their statement echoed last week's demand by the National Association of Manufacturers for the destruction of the closed shop to end the "monopoly power" of the unions.

The mass turnout and militant mood of the Indiana unionists demonstrates that large numbers in the rank-and-file of labor are ready to combat this union busting drive. But thus far the top echelons of the AFL-CIO have offered only misleadership in the fight. While the Congressional labor investigation is being used as a spearhead in the open shop drive, the leaders of the AFL-CIO have demanded that union officials cooperate with this body at the expense of losing their posts. In Indiana, union officials did not bestir themselves until after the bill had gone through both houses. Only then did they call for the mass demonstration. Passage of bill came only on the basis of two senators switching their votes in favor of it. **A mass outpouring before the vote might well have changed the outcome.**

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS

◆

On Socialism and the Labor Movement

◆

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John Gates Presents CP Views at Penn University

PHILADELPHIA — "There is no difference between Socialism as advocated by Norman Thomas and as advocated by the Communist Party," said John Gates, Daily Worker editor, in answer to questions at a meeting of several hundred students at the University of Pennsylvania, Feb. 15.

It was Gates' first public meeting since the Communist Party convention of the week before. He was invited to speak on "Does Communism Have a Future in America?" by the student government club in face of opposition from faculty members. Dr. J. Roffe Wike, professor of political science and a Republican, debated Gates. The meeting gave American radicals an opportunity to judge the political position of the Gates wing of the Communist Party on a number of points. We present salient features for the information of Militant readers.

Calling for a political realignment in America, Gates said that "the differences between the Socialist and Communist parties have narrowed down." He asserted that at one time the differences were between "peaceful and violent" change but that today "it is possible to have a peaceful and constitutional change" to socialism. "We are for the continuation into socialism of our present institutions, of Congress, etc.," he said.

Gates deplored the fact that "Norman Thomas doesn't want unity" and hoped for "a more intimate basis" of collaboration with him. No reference was made to the support given by the Socialist Party and Norman Thomas to the Korean war or to the fusion of the Socialist Party with the Social Democratic Federation based on support to the State Department's foreign policy.

When asked from the floor why the government in Hungary was trying to wipe out the Workers Councils, Gates said he didn't know all the facts; that they were not dissolving all the councils; that the government needs the support of the councils for its own stability.

'BALANCE' ON ANTI-SEMITISM

Another question dealt with the suppression of minority nationalities and groups in the Soviet Union. Gates answered that the Russian revolution "liberated whole peoples from Czarist oppression." He said that "six million Jews were saved by the Soviet Union during World War II," and that "four million Jews continue to live in the Soviet Union." He said that this must be weighed in the balance against the fact that "the cultural institutions of the Jews was done away with" and that "20 or 30 of their leaders were done away with." **The audience of students which mainly listened respectfully to Gates greeted his balancing of six million saved to 20 or 30 killed with angry derision.**

Gates argued that two world wars and hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union were responsible for the crimes that were committed there. He said, "I am doing all I can to persuade them to correct this." He said, "I believe the process of democratization is under way in the Soviet Union, even if they have a long way to go yet."

The convention of the Communist Party was depicted by Gates as having charted an American Road to Socialism. He called for "a big peoples alliance against monopoly." This requires, he said, "a new political alignment, a mass party against the monopolies." This party is to be built, he said, through "the transformation of the Democratic Party, or a new mass party against both the Republicans and Democrats."

Just Received From England

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

by Peter Fryer

Peter Fryer was special correspondent of the London Daily Worker in Budapest. His dispatches telling the truth about the workers' uprising were suppressed by the editor. This book is his eyewitness account.

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A Bloody-Handed Visitor

A prime example of the polished political scoundrel is French Premier Guy Mollet who recently concluded three days of secret conversations with Eisenhower and Dulles. What was asked for, what was given, what the American people may have been committed to by "gentlemen's agreement" in these conferences is not known. Secret diplomacy rules supreme — a fact all the more ominous since the Senate has given Eisenhower a blank check to go to war in the Mideast whenever he chooses.

It is worth recalling that it was Premier Mollet who launched French planes and tanks against the Egyptian people last fall. But his duplicity goes deeper than an undeclared war. It has been revealed (France-Observateur, Feb. 14) that on Oct. 26 — three days before Israel invaded Egypt — Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion secretly met Mollet at Villacoublay, the military airport just outside Paris. At the airport a two-hour conference and the signing of a pact took place — all unknown to the French parliament and the French people. In accordance with the pact, French planes and naval vessels secretly participated in the Israeli attack on Egypt from Oct. 29 to Nov. 5. This attack then served as the public excuse for France and Britain to invade Egypt to "restore peace to the Mideast" (and the Suez Canal to the imperialists).

On the Mollet-Eisenhower agenda was French policy in Algeria — a policy the U.S. has backed in the UN and NATO. Under Mollet's regime the repression of the Algerian people has reached a degree of barbarity equalled only by the Nazis in the occupied countries of World War II: massacres and burning of villages, shooting prisoners, a corps of torture specialists equipped with the most sadistically-advanced mechanical and electrical devices. And Mollet, who presides over all this, has the gall to tell a New York audience: "Our concern must be to have the dependent peoples bypass the stage of nationalism. Our aim must be to free men from all forms of oppression. . ."

While carrying on a campaign of murder and torture to make the Algerians "bypass" national independence in order the quicker to reach the higher freedoms such as exist in France, what is Mollet doing to these "higher" freedoms at home?

He is engaged in a campaign to destroy freedom of the press. Journalists and publishers in Paris who have dared report the facts on Algeria are at this moment facing military courts. This hypocrite, whose mouth dirties the word 'freedom,' is not only trying to muzzle the French press but to deny trial by jury to his victims.

The most disgusting feature of all is that Mollet bears the party tag of "socialist" or "social-democrat." This traitor to socialism plays an important role in the councils and congresses of the Second International. It is to be hoped that one day he will play an even more stellar role at a trial of war criminals.

Chou and the Chinese Revolution

The Feb. 7 issue of the Samasamajist, English paper of the Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon, announced that Chou En Lai, the Chinese Premier, had invited a delegation of that party to visit China. The invitation was accepted by decision of the Central Committee of the LSSP.

A tour of China by Ceylonese Trotskyists could do a great deal to aid in the defense of the Chinese revolution against the imperialist powers by providing reliable reports on the problems confronting the workers of China. An invitation for this purpose would be welcome. But an invitation given and accepted under conditions that obscure the LSSP position of intransigent political opposition to the Stalinist misleaders of the revolutionary people of China is an entirely different matter.

PRAISE CHOU

The acceptance of the invitation was preceded by an editorial in the Jan. 31 issue of Samasamajist. The editorial is headed, "Tribute to Chou En Lai." It said, "Despite our political differences we recognize the tremendous sacrifices made by these men who led the Chinese Revolution to victory." The editors criticized the local Ceylonese Stalinists because they "wave flags for one of their heroes; it has not been given to them to understand the achievement and to follow the example of Chou En Lai."

This is a sudden and surprising shift of the Samasamajist from its clearly expressed traditional view that Stalinism is an international force of class collaboration, emanating from the economic interests of the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet orbit. It is precisely the subordination of Communist Parties in the capitalist world to these policies of opportunism that constitutes the main danger to the world socialist revolution.

We would like to remind our comrades of the LSSP of Ceylon of fundamental conceptions that Trotskyists have always been careful to make clear:

Chou En Lai and the Chinese Communist Party did not lead "the Chinese revolution to victory," nor can they legitimately be identified with that victory. For many years during the civil war after 1945, the Chinese CP tried to conciliate Chiang Kai-shek, offering to subordinate the revolutionary forces to the Chinese dictator, the puppet of U.S. imperialism.

Chiang Kai-shek's refusal to compromise and his prosecution of war to the finish against the Chinese Revolution left the Stalinist leaders with no other alternative but to yield to the pressure of the revolutionary masses and take power. Even at that time, however, the Chinese Communist Party prohibited revolutionary action by the small but militant Chinese working class for fear of losing control of the insurgent mass movement.

Thus, the leadership of the Chinese CP is no more to be credited with the inspiring victory of the Chinese Revolution than the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union is to be credited with the great industrial progress in that country. In both cases the revolutionary achievements were made despite the leadership and its false policies.

CHOU DEFENDS KREMLIN

Chou En Lai came to Ceylon following a visit to Moscow, Warsaw and Budapest. The purpose of the tour was to bolster up the crumbling structure of Stalinist power in the Soviet orbit. Using the prestige of the Chinese revolution, Chou lent himself to the ignoble task of justifying the Kremlin's repression in East Europe. The tour followed adoption by the Chinese CP of a document, calling for all Communist Parties to accept the "leadership" of the Kremlin.

Doesn't a "tribute to Chou En Lai" at this very moment when the workers are challenging the rule of the bureaucrats in the Soviet orbit aid in the cover-up of Stalinist crimes against the political revolution of the working class?

And finally, the Chinese Trotskyists are imprisoned and tortured by Mao Tse Tung's regime. On this score, the Samasamajist editorial greeting Chou as a "revolutionary," was completely silent. How will a "tribute" to their jailer be greeted by genuine Chinese Marxist-Leninists from their prison cells?

The Ceylonese Trotskyists, should, in our opinion, lend strong support to the demand for the liberation of our Chinese comrades and for full democratic rights for the Chinese working class. **Only workers' democracy can make the victory of the Chinese revolution secure, assure its progress and serve to advance the struggle for Socialism in the whole of Asia.**

Cesaire Increases Vote in Martinique

The people of the French West Indian colony of Martinique have given an overwhelming vote of confidence to Aime Cesaire, who last November resigned from the French Communist Party, charging that it had made no efforts to rid itself of Stalinism and that it subordinated the struggle of colonial and colored peoples to political deals. He declared his break with the CP was in no way a break with Marxism. Under orders from the French CP headquarters in Paris, the CP Federation of Martinique began a campaign against Cesaire, who not only represents the island in the French parliament but is mayor of its capital, Fort-de-France. Cesaire forced a showdown by resigning as mayor and running again in the new elections. He received 82% of the votes as against a mere 4% for the CP candidate. This is a 5% increase for Cesaire over the vote he received in 1956 when he was a CP candidate.

W. Europe Single-Market Plan

By John Black

Representatives of six European countries have come to an agreement on the introduction of a Customs Union. This plan, lacking only ratification of the respective parliamentary bodies, would gradually lower tariff and custom barriers between the contracting countries and would eventually establish a common market of some 160 million people. The plan also provides for the freer movement of capital and labor forces as well as the "equalization of the cost of production." The countries involved are West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg.

GERMAN ATTEMPTS

The history of 20th-century Europe has been that of an unending conflict of the expanding productive forces against the straightjacket of private ownership, national boundaries and tariff restrictions. The capitalist class of Europe has attempted to break loose in different ways. The German capitalists, masters in the industrial heartland of Europe, attempted in two wars, to organize the continent in a manner rational from their point of view. The restricting borders were levelled by force of arms and a German capitalist "New Order" imposed. **In both of these attempts, the overwhelming economic preponderance of the United States was thrown into the scales against the German capitalists, and they were driven back to suffocate behind the frontiers of a geographically diminished Germany.**

Each time, France, Germany's main continental competitor, attempted to take advantage of the changed relationship of strength that followed the military decision and to consolidate its competeive position by gaining control of the vital resources of the Alsace-Lorraine, Saar, and Ruhr areas.

EMPTY PROMISES

With the end of World War II, France assured integration of Alsace-Lorraine, secured a temporary control over the Saar, and made a bold attempt to gain access to the Ruhr and its vital coking-coal reserves.

The European Coal and Steel community was designed to assure French capitalists that free entrance to the resources of the Ruhr which it required. The signers of the agreement voiced beautiful promises for the future. **Europe would witness an era of economic cooperation, the consumption of steel in Europe would rise, and there was to be an end to periodic, disastrous disruptions in the economy. And, of course, the standard of living in Europe would be improved. Alas, the promises were never realized. Instead, there has been increased rivalry and intensified competition, as German capitalists outstripped the French in their rate of expansion.**

During the operation of the agreement, France's share in European coal and steel production has decreased. Germany's share has gone up. Capital concentration has gone up. Capital concentration has continued in a manner particularly detrimental to French concerns. The German firms expanded vertically —that is to say, steel concerns gobbled up coal and coke resources. This assured them a competitive advantage. France has to buy Ruhr coking-coal at discriminatory prices. The West German industrial barons are able to manipulate this by imposing punitive coal transportation charges.

OPPOSE REGULATION

The German industrialists are happy with such "community" agreements coupled with private ownership. The latest annual report of the Phoenix-Rheinrohr concern (owned by the Thyssen family) commenting on coal and scrap shortages experienced by their competitors, categorically opposes any regulation of this state of affairs. **"It is to be feared that the setting up of quotas would lead to clashes of national interests of intensity not encountered in the creation of the common market. Contradictions, which the Coal and Steel community was intended to bridge would be intensified." (Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung, Feb. 9.)**

The French capitalists who have "won" two wars are faced with a dilemma. Unlimited free competition would soon eliminate them from the running. Agreements and plans at best delay the process and tend to place the stamp of legality on their rivals' rapaciousness. French frustration at this situation found vivid expression this year on the occasion of a dinner given for the investment committee of the Coal and Steel Community in Munich. The French delegate, former Minister of Justice, now Parliamentary Representative, Professor De Menthon refused to sit in the seat at the table assigned to him. Why? The seat next to his was occupied by Friedrich Flick, steel magnate of West Germany, convicted of war crimes at the Nuremberg trials. The prosecutor at this trial was De Menthon. Flick is back at the old stand.

U.S. AS OVERSEER

Perspectives for the European economy must be underwritten and approved by the United States. This was the case with the Coal and Steel Community and it is true with the Common Market Plan. The U.S. State Department has placed the stamp of approval on the agreement and has assigned the role of overseer to the German capitalists. The establishment of the Common Market will tie West Germany close to the NATO powers and will slow the drive for the reunification with East Germany. **Washington anticipates that German hegemony will transform Europe into an arsenal for NATO and the anti-Soviet bloc. France's large Communist Party rules that country out as unreliable in the eyes of Wall Street's policy makers. Only the Krupps, Thyssens, Flicks and their politicians can be entrusted with the job of organizing Europe.**

To the workers of Europe the introduction of the Common Market will bring intensified exploitation and insecurity. They have had experience of that with the Coal and Steel set-up.

What for example does the free movement of labor and the equalization of the cost of production herald for the workers? It has already meant that workers from areas with low wages are transported into high-wage areas. It has meant that these workers are then used to drive down the prevailing wage scales. Working conditions are diluted and strikes can be broken with the introduction of foreign workers. The lowering and eventual disappearance of protective tariffs will lead to greater competition and rationalization on the back of the workers. The speed-up which accompanied the introduction of the Coal and Steel Community has led to a disastrous rise in industrial accidents in the coal mines of both France and Germany.

The French have succeeded in introducing their African possessions into the market plan. Germany will now participate in the exploitation of the French African colonies. This will also bring the miserably underpaid African workers into more direct competition with the workers of Europe. The agreement specifically provides that the overseas possessions of France are not to be included in "the equalization of the cost of production." This means that there will be no wage improvements for the colonial masses.

UNITY PERSPECTIVES

The unification of Europe and the establishment of the United States of Europe remains on the historical agenda. The workers of Europe have not yet succeeded in bringing it about. Attempts at capitalist "unification" have brought wars and greater enslavement for the workers. The latest plan holds no brighter prospects.

The task of unifying Europe in such a way as to free the productive forces from all fetters and benefit the working people thereby can only be solved by the working class. It will be achieved through the creation of a Socialist United States of Europe.

World Events

THE CAIRO CONFERENCE between rulers of four Arab states ended Feb. 27 with the failure of King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia to line up any more support for the Eisenhower Doctrine. Egypt's President Nasser and Syria's President Shukri al-Kuwatly refused to agree to a resolution backed by Saud and King Hussein of Jordan posing "Communism" as a threat to the Mideast. Despite a surface show of unanimity expressed in vague generalities and an announcement pledging the four nations to "positive neutralism" in the cold war, the conference revealed that the rift is continuing to develop between the feudal dynastic rulers, who are direct agents of imperialism, on the one hand, and Egypt and Syria, centers of the Arab national independence revolution, on the other.

* * *

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BUS BOYCOTT, begun two months ago by Negroes living in segregated compounds ten miles outside Johannesburg and Pretoria, threatens to develop into a general strike as a result of attempts at repression by the racist government. A mass meeting of 4,000 Negroes in the compound of Alexandra, Jan. 27, defied a government ultimatum that all public transportation to the compounds would be halted if the protest continued. It laid plans for a stay-at-home — and away from work — move to counter the government threat. On March 1, a compromise plan was voted down by the Negroes, and their leaders publicly burned copies of the plan. The boycott began Jan. 7 over an increase in fares, but more basically over protests against the government's brutal segregation policies. In 1955, 60,000 Negroes were forced at gun point into the compounds from their homes in Johannesburg in a government drive to make city residence white. All opposition to segregation as such is decreed "subversive" in South Africa, and 153 community, cultural, trade union, and professional leaders, both Negro and white, were put on trial for "treason" last December because they had in some way opposed segregation.

* * *

POLISH PROTESTS against recent moves in Warsaw to restore the Natolin (Stalinist) faction to greater power appear to be growing. Eight leading writers and editors on Trybuna Ludu, main organ of the United Workers (Communist) Party, resigned March 1. The resignations followed by two days the replacement of the chief editor by Leon Kasman, an old-line Stalinist. The new Polish cabinet which was approved by the Parliament Feb. 27 includes Zenon Nowak, head of the Natolin faction, as Deputy Premier. Wiktor Klosiewicz, Nowak's henchman who was dismissed as Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions as a result of last October's anti-Stalinist developments, is to be appointed Deputy Minister of Labor according to the present plans of Polish CP head, Wladislaw Gomulka.

* * *

HUNGARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES who fought the Stalinist regime make up only a small part of the total number of refugees who fled to Austria, according to Dr. Richard P. Saunders, president of the Save the Children Federation. He has just returned from Austria where his organization is aiding the rehabilitation of refugee orphans. His statement is reported to the March 4 New York Times. He described the young refugees as largely "a pre-delinquent maladjusted group" who were in no sense political refugees, but had run away from parents or schools. Only one fifth of the refugees were revolutionaries, he said, while another two fifths were criminals or adventurers and the remaining two fifths simply took advantage of the opportunity to run away from harsh or difficult conditions. Stalinist propagandists have been trying to discredit the Hungarian revolution by pointing to "delinquency" among refugees in Austria. The Saunders report supports the contention that the Austrian refugees are not representative since working-class revolutionaries stay to fight as long as they possibly can. Dr. Saunders also said that the flow of refugees to Austria has virtually ceased, while it continues to Yugoslavia.

Socialist Forum Group Sets Meets In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO — The third meeting of the organizing committee of the Independent Socialist Forum was held last month. Chairman was George Hitchcok, a playwright connected with the Interplayers Theatre Group of San Francisco. Mr. Hitchcock is recognized as the chief organizer of the Independent Socialist Forum. In attendance were 25 workers and students as well as several individuals connected in official capacity with the trade union movement. The total membership of the committee, which has been growing steadily, now stands at approximately forty persons, from every left-wing party or group in the Bay Area plus many unaffiliated socialists.

Carey McWilliams spoke at the first public meeting of the I. S. F., which was attended by 208 people. Plans are for one such meeting a month. Bert Cochran, editor of the American Socialist and Leo Huberman, of the Monthly Review, are scheduled for March and April. William F. Warde, noted Marxist lecturer, is tentatively scheduled as a public speaker in the near future.

At its public meetings the I. S. F. sells magazines and books from all socialist groups.

In addition to its public meetings the I. S. F. plans committee meetings to which spokesmen from various socialist organizations will be invited to discuss their ideas.

New York
American Youth for Socialism

holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 116 University Place, at 8 PM. We have a short business meeting followed by an educational discussion.

The discussion on Tuesday, March 12, will feature a book review of Leon Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism," by Nora Aaron.

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Bert Cochran
Editor, American Socialist

Vincent Hallinan
1952 Progressive Party Candidate for President

Dorothy Healy
L. A. County Chairman, Communist Party

Carl Marzani
Writer and Lecturer

William F. Warde
L. A. Chairman, Socialist Workers Party

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Ind. Socialist League

Joseph Roberts
Chairman, East Penn. District, Communist Party

Tom Kerry
Socialist Workers Party

Charles Walker
Revolutionary Pacifist

Moderator:
Lyle Tatum
Exec. Sec'y, Friends Service Committee, Middle Atlantic Region

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How will the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in America take place?

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116 University Place

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI — MONDAY, MARCH 11, 1957 — NUMBER 10

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Nixon in Africa

Some tinhorn politicians here at home will undoubtedly try to make capital of Vice President Nixon's "good-will tour" in Africa. They'll probably try to make it out as some kind of demonstration of sympathy with colored people generally, and attempt to cash in on it for Negro votes in the next election.

Before they get very far with their political con game, let's take a good look at what the Republican personality kid is actually doing in Africa.

According to a March 1 report by Associated Press Reporter John Scali, the Veep "launched his friends-making tour of Africa . . . with old-fashioned American campaign methods, pumping hands and questioning Arab youngsters."

With his wife and nine aides, Nixon arrived at Sale-Rabat Airport in Morocco for the start of a 22-day, 18,000-mile tour "intended to demonstrate the United States' interest in Africa and its growing number of independent nations."

What is the nature of the United States' interest in Africa and its growing number of "independent nations?"

The sultans, princes and other feudal rulers who sit on top of the African masses have no cause for alarm, and they know it. Smiling Dick is being welcomed as one of their own class, which he is. He is being given a royal welcome. Crowds are mustered out in traditional style to shout "Nixon, Nixon," and "Long Live the King."

As a Moroccan official explained, many in the crowd were accustomed to cheering royalty and automatically assumed that Nixon must at least be a king.

But after the show was over, the American representatives of Big Business would get down to the real purpose of his visit: the deal.

"It was likely," the AP report stated, "that the sultan would mention Moroccan desires for immediate American dollar aid and technical assistance in getting long range economic projects started.

"From the American side it was likely the delicate status of five huge air and naval bases in Morocco would come up. These bases, costing 400 million dollars or more to build, were granted by the French in 1950 without asking permission from the Moroccans. Now that the Moroccans' independence has been recognized with termination of the French protectorate, the Moroccans think the question of an extension should be negotiated.

"These bases, capable of handling the biggest strategic bombers, could be of decisive importance in an atomic war. . ."

So, while the parades continue and the sultan prays in his "private mosque," while "most of the children just stared . . . in silence, or shyly hid their heads in their mothers' garments. . . Nixon continued vigorous handshaking with nearby onlookers."

Meanwhile, at home in the United States, thousands of colored peeople who called in vain for Nixon to make a tour of the South and take a stand against the terror campaign of race-haters here are taking up the slogan for a "March on Washington" to protest against the government's indifference to their plight.

It will take more than handshaking and patting babies on the head to satisfy these crowds. They understand what Nixon is saying and doing.

Noted Mexican Lawyer in New York

Dr. and Mrs. Luis Sanchez Ponton were greeted by Mrs. Rose Sobell (center), mother of Morton Sobell, on their arrival in New York. Dr. Sonchez Ponton came to this country to aid in the legal arguments for a new hering for Sobell, now serving 30-year term in Alcatraz.

Harriman Uses State Police To Break N. Y. Milk Strike

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, March 4—The use of strike-breaking tactics by Democratic Governor Harriman, so-called liberal governor of New York State, broke the back of a milk strike waged by a heroic band of Western New York farmers, members of the Tri-State Master Dairy Farmers' Guild against the rich and powerful Dairymen's League and their wealthy milk dealer dairy allies.

Governor Harriman who had campaigned for his office among Western N. Y. dairy farmers as the champion of small farmers, ruthlessly ordered out state troopers to break the militant picket lines of the farmers around the big plants. At the large Queensboro Farm in Seamburg, New York, six carloads of state troopers in crash helmets led a seven-truck convoy of farmer-scabs through a dozen pickets. Flushed with their success in smashing orderly picketing, the troopers then continued, it was reported, to the General Ice Cream Plant in Leon, New York to repeat their strike-breaking practices. In the Allegany and Cattaraugus County area, it was reported in the Buffalo Evening News, at least 50 state troopers and 22 cars were roaming the roads on call for such purposes.

DEAF TO FARMER'S SIDE

Robert McCaffery, chairman of the Tri-State Guild in Cattaraugus County stated. "When the troops moved and escorted the trucks into the plant that just about cleaned us up. . . Governor Harriman could have considered our side rather than order in his troopers as strike busters. . ."

Until the intervention of state troopers, striking farmers of the Guild appeared to be winning their fight to get the big milk processing companies to pay a little more than the pitiful eight-to-nine cents a quart they receive. (The consumer is soaked around 26 cents a quart.)

It was reported that two milk processors had agreed to go along with the strikers demands. Rev. John Dorney, executive secretary of the Tri-State Guild predicted that the 3,500 strikers would "eventually involve 25,000 farmers."

On the first day of the strike, deliveries to some of the picketed milk plants were cut in half. Appeals by the pickets for support of their cause turned back at least a dozen drivers in fully-loaded milk trucks. A Baltimore & Ohio Railroad freight crew refused to switch milk cars in the big Borden Milk Plant in Ellicottville, New York. At least 1,000 farmers and their wives attended two enthusiastic meetings and pledged their solid support to continue their fight. Twenty-four hour picket lines were set up to discourage the scabs who made their deliveries at night. (The big dairy companies paid the scabs far in excess of what the striking farmers were asking.) The strikers pledged at their meetings to supply raw milk free to hospitals and orphanages. But these pledges were buried in the press reportage of the strike.

PRESS VS. STRIKERS

The Buffalo Evening News, with the largest circulation in Western New York, emphasized day in, day out the alleged violence and milk dumping by the pickets. Heading The News article of Feb. 25 was "Cattaraugus County Pickets Dump 500 Pounds of Milk" and of Feb. 26, "Violence Mounts as Many Farmers Try to Deliver Milk." These articles were calculated to influence the public to condemn the cause of the strikers. **In many cases scab farmers in trucks ran over pickets and scab convoys carried men armed with clubs and pipes. The Courier Express, the other Buffalo daily, had a front-page picture in their February 27 edition of scabs armed with clubs ready to strike a picket. But the caption read "Pickets Swarm Over a Delivery Truck."**

The real guilt lies with the greedy processors who year in, year out have squeezed mercilessly the small dairy farmer in a milk-price vise. Milk price is based on butterfat content—as determined by the processor. Profit on cheese, prepared milk drinks and other dairy products is much greater than on fluid milk, but none of this extra profit redounds to the farmer, since all these high-profit products come from the low-priced fluid milk. The milk processors present a united front on the price issue in the Western New York area and it is impossible for the farmers to find higher-priced outlets for their milk. Farmers caught in this deadly squeeze of low income and high costs are hopelessly in debt to these powerful organizations.

The milk strike would still remain unbroken if the AFL-CIO leadership had opened its eyes to this struggle and given support. With the support of the labor movement in this area for the farmers strike, Governor Harriman would not have dared so readily to call out the state troopers. **The strike has shown that workers and working farmers have many things in common—the same hardships, the same pressures from Big Business. It remains for them to build a common political organization, a labor party based on the trade unions and working farmers.**

New Gain Made In N. Y. School Integration

By Harriet Saunders

The fight to end segregation in the New York schools registered an important victory Feb. 28 when the Board of Education accepted the Zoning and Teachers Assignment reports of its subcommittee, the Commission on Integration, and thereby approved in principle a program to equalize educational opportunities for Negroes and other minority groups in the city.

Under the insistent pressure of parent groups and civic and religious organizations, these reports were unanimously accepted in spite of opposition from supporters of the Jim Crow system, some of the daily papers and the leaders of some teachers' organizations. Previously accepted by the Board were reports on educational standards and curriculum, guidance placement and education stimulation and one on physical plant and maintenance.

These reports summarized three years of investigation by the Commission on Integration which found that racial segregation existed in at least 70% of the city's schools with the result that student bodies were either all-white or all Negro and Puerto Rican. This condition developed mainly because the elementary and junior high schools have reflected the pattern of racial ghettos in the city. This pattern of Jim Crow housing has been buttressed by the gerrymandering of school zones along racial lines.

Confirming the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," the Commission found that the schools in the poorer neighborhoods with largely Negro and Puerto Rican students were older, more run down and were staffed with less experienced and stable teaching staffs than the schools in the white and more financially comfortable neighborhoods.

The Commission's finding confirmed the long-standing charge that in areas where both neighborhoods met, opportunities to integrate were largely ignored. The present zoning report proposes to establish integration as a "cardinal principle" in establishing school districts. Plans call for a city-wide zoning committee, with civic representation, to study neighborhood composition and effect integration.

It should be noted here that integration would be but one factor in establishing zone lines and that safety and school distances would be considered as well. Children would not be "bussed" long distances to remote parts of the city, as opponents of the report claim. The school-bus service would be used to contribute to integration, and not to help maintain segregation.

PARENTS THE SPARKPLUG

While integration has found eager support among such organizations as the Inter-Group Committee, with its 26 affiliates, including the Urban League, NAACP and American Jewish Congress, the struggle drew its most active support from the ranks of parents' organizations — especially the mothers of school children. They demonstrated their determination not to let the Supreme Court decision become a scrap of paper.

The untiring efforts of the mothers to breathe life into the Supreme Court decision focused the attention of the entire community on the whole shameful school situation. As a result, the present report promises to raise the general standards throughout the school system. It is noteworthy that with the community support their work generated, these mothers were able to win incorporation of improvements in the report on Teacher Assignments that the teachers' organizations have demanded for years.

Yet some who profess to speak for the teachers have opposed the report's adoption. Their opposition is centered around the proposal to rotate teachers in the school system as a means of improving the educational level throughout the school system.

The report, however, specifically includes provisions insuring the individual needs of the teachers so that no undue hardship would result. The rotation proposal is an important one. With the assignment to Negro and Puerto Rican areas of teachers with little experience, whether substitutes or regulars, the educational level in these schools is necessarily lowered. By rotating experienced teachers the teaching staffs could be stabilized to at least the same level of experience as that of the schools in the more privileged neighborhoods.

Additional recommendations pushed to the background by teacher opposition call for smaller classes, shorter teaching schedules, additional clerical help to relieve teachers of these duties, additional psychiatric personnel and rest periods for teachers.

The next big job is to win implementation of these reports and to get the budgetary increases necessary to achieve the standards and services so urgently needed not only for integration, but to raise the educational and physical level of the school system, generally, and to improve the working conditions of its teachers.

This struggle will be greatly strengthened if the labor movement of the city is drawn into it. From their own viewpoint, the unions have a real stake in an improved school system. Segregated schools and low educational standards help divide the working people and the division can be used to undermine hard-won wages and conditions. Organized labor should join the Citizens Committee for Children of New York in declaring that "ending racial segregation in our public schools is the most crucial issue in American life today."

. . . Sobell New Trial

(Continued from page 1)

powerful government had to lie to get its conviction, how can one accept the word of the frightened mouse, Elitcher?

NO SIMILARITY

Paul Williams' fraudulent presentation of the "deportation" question was only one of several misrepresentations of the Sobell case to the Appeals Court that were either maliciously intentional or showed a shocking ignorance of the facts of the original trial. Principal among these was Williams' claim, like that of Saypol's before his, that Sobell's trip to Mexico followed the "pattern of escape" described by David Greenglass, the main witness against the Rosenbergs. **Greenglass described procedure that was allegedly "planned" for the escape of "Soviet spies" which included the "aid" of the Soviet Embassy in Mexico. Sobell's trip followed none of the "escape" details described by Greenglass.**

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